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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *vōṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that

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emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

• 783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhaganḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society.

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities.

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity.

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

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Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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796 778 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

783 [841] The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 783 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

778 788 [823] Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

[354] A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

778 769

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776 778 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 778 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred. [846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him, [871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 778 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 775 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults [858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than [765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated, [564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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765 302 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 182 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 [343] The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject [533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom [585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[177] [1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India. Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhaganḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the abcve ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

876 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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coulu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the position he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni maṇḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *coulu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of 372
783

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character.

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

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IV

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(2) THE CONCEPTS OF *POLÉ* AND *MAḌI*

I

THE external world is divided into two parts, the sacred and non-sacred. The term 'sacred' is used in its wider sense as inclusive of 'good-sacredness' as well as 'bad-sacredness'. Good-sacredness includes all forms of ritually desirable states and conditions like auspiciousness and purity, while bad-sacredness includes all forms of ritually undesirable states and conditions such as inauspiciousness and impurity.

The Koḍagi term for ritual purity is *maḍi*, and this term is found in all other Dravidian languages except Malayāḷam; and *polé*, which means ritual impurity, is found in all Dravidian languages except Telugu.

Polé is used in Koḍagi in two senses: one, in which it means ritual impurity generally; and another in which it means certain specific forms of ritual impurity. In the latter cases it is usual to add the necessary prefixes: for instance, *kuruḍu polé* (blind pollution) or *tinga polé* (monthly pollution) refers to the impurity of a woman in her periods, and *petta polé* or *puruḍu*[1] *polé* refers to birth pollution.

The pollution resulting from the death of a person is called *tīké*. *Tīṭ* in Tamil means death-pollution, while *tīṭ* in Koḍagi means faeces. A house in which an adult has died is referred to as *tīké mané* (polluted house) till the end of ritual mourning. On the day ritual mourning ends, in the afternoon, after the mourners have returned from the burial-ground, the family friend says, 'Until now mourning, from now on festival' (*indākaṇé tammé inṛa pinya nammé*). *Tammé* is used to mean mourning, while *nammé* is used to mean festival.

All over India there is a ban on a member of a higher caste touching, or coming very close to, a member of a lower caste. This

[1] *Puruḍu* which means the pollution consequent on birth occurs in all Dravidian languages excepting Malayāḷam.

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tīṇḍu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé—ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannada country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kĕtrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

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783 827 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 827 539 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 827 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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783 and so the person in question sits under a sieve while water is poured on him through it. The sieve has a few hundred holes, and every time a vessel of water is poured into it the person underneath has a few hundred baths. When the proper observance of a ritual rule or prohibition involves great trouble and inconvenience there come into existence ritual mechanisms which take the edge off the rules.

III

Bad-sacredness is a wider concept than pollution or ritual impurity; and there are several degrees of ritual impurity. The birth of a child results in a mild form of pollution called *petta polé* or *puruḍu* for seven or twelve days for all members of the *okka* except the mother of the new-born baby, who attains normal ritual status only on the sixtieth day. During birth-pollution the members of the *okka* avoid going to a temple. But they may go to a dance or wedding where they are bound to touch people in normal ritual status.

Tiké or death-pollution is quite a different matter, however. The members of the dead man's *okka* have to avoid touching people in normal status for a period of at least twelve days after death. During this period they have to observe certain taboos regarding food and dress. *Tiké* might be described as an acute form of pollution, while *petta polé* or *puruḍu polé* is a mild form of it. But the latter is a more serious form of pollution than normal ritual status.

Normal ritual status is the status which a person enjoys most of the time. From this point of view, both *maḍi* and *polé*, both ritual purity and impurity, are deviations from the normal. Death-pollution is also an abnormal ritual condition, lasting only for a short period, comparatively speaking.

There is no term in Koḍagi for normal ritual status. When Coorgs want to describe this condition they resort to the Kannaḍa (and also Telugu) term *mailigé*. It is interesting to note that the soiled clothes which a washerman takes away are *mailigé*, and the clean clothes which he brings back are *maḍi*. The washerman himself is referred to as *maḍivāḷa*.

Ritual impurity, normal ritual status, and ritual purity form a hierarchy. If a person in an impure condition touches another in a condition of either purity or normal ritual status, the latter becomes impure. If a person in a condition of normal ritual status

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touches another in a pure condition, the latter loses his purity and is reduced to normal ritual status. That is, normal ritual status is a mild form of impurity.

Tiké or death-pollution represents the highest degree of ritual impurity, *polé* or birth-pollution comes next, and *mailigé* or normal ritual status is the mildest form of ritual impurity. But *maḍi* or ritual purity is of a different quality altogether, and contact with impurity in any form usually destroys it.

IV

It has been mentioned earlier that there is an opposition between good-sacredness and bad-sacredness. This implies that *maḍi* which is good-sacred and *polé* which is bad-sacred are opposed to each other. In concrete terms, a man who is in a condition of *polé* or *tiké* may not go to a ritually pure place like the temple and village green. Conversely, a person who is in a condition of *maḍi* like the man who is chosen to cut ritually the paddy sheaves at the harvest festival may not come into contact with a man enjoying normal ritual status, still less with someone in a condition of *polé*. A person in *maḍi* avoids a person in *polé*.[1]

There are exceptions to this rule, however. Kaiyandira Appayya, the boy-hero who saved the honour of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, was showered with honours and privileges by a grateful *nāḍ*. One of the privileges permitted him to visit the temple even when he was suffering from *polé*. A similar privilege is even today enjoyed by the Bellitanḍa *okka* in the temple of Bytūrappa in north Malabar. Bytūrappa, a form of Shiva, is the patron-deity of a number of *okkas* in south-west Coorg. The Bellitanḍa *okka* have the special privilege of being able to send offerings to their patron-deity even while under *polé*. This is because a pregnant woman of the Bellitanḍa *okka* who was fleeing from Tippu's troops sought and found sanctuary in the Bytūrappa temple. She gave birth to a boy in the temple and the boy spent sixteen years in the temple before returning to his *okka* in Coorg. There is thus a special bond between the Bellitanḍa *okka* and the deity Bytūrappa, and this is recognized in the fact that the former are permitted to send offerings even while under *polé*.

[1] At the annual festival of the deity Kākkoṭ Achchayya, the Brahmin priest carrying the idol of the deity flies into the temple at the sight of the Banna oracle. The Brahmin and the idol he carries would both be defiled if he did not do so.

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783 *Maḍi* and *polé* are opposed to each other, and the normal relation between them is one of avoidance. But where very great solidarity is prevalent between two persons or parties, the existence of such opposition between *maḍi* and *polé* is overruled. In the folksongs there is an explicit recognition of the fact that the waiving of such opposition in certain special cases is a favour granted to a human being for certain reasons.

V

The ritual concepts of *maḍi* and *polé* are intimately related to the social structure. A member of a high caste is in a condition of *maḍi* in relation to a member of a low caste, and the latter is in a condition of *polé* in relation to the former. There is a ban on contact between castes belonging to different strata.

It is interesting to note that when a low-caste man touches a high-caste man, the latter is defiled and the former is not purified. It is argued by some that this is a *structural necessity* as the essence of a stratified society consists in maintenance of the structural distance between various castes, and this distance would be destroyed if contact between two men belonging to different castes led to the lower being purified instead of the higher being defiled. This argument ignores that egalitarianism is reached not only when everyone attains purity but also when everyone is defiled. In any case, *normally* the change of ritual status consequent on members of different castes coming into contact with each other is only temporary. It does not lead to a permanent change of ritual status.[1]

A high-caste man is no doubt in a condition of ritual purity in relation to a low-caste man. But considered by himself, his normal ritual status is *mailigé*, which is a mild form of impurity. He attains purity on certain occasions, and *polé* and *tiké* on certain other occasions. Similarly, the low-caste man, considered by himself, is *mailigé* normally, and *polé* and *maḍi* only occasionally.

One last point needs to be made before completing our account of the relation between *polé* and *maḍi*. The mourner who is in a condition of *tiké*, an extreme form of defilement, is required to perform certain rites. Usually these rites consist in the offering of

[1] It is not always that a *maḍi*-object becomes defiled when it comes in contact with a *polé*-object: the sprinkling of consecrated water purifies a person or house in a condition of ritual impurity.

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food in one form or another to the spirit of the departed person. The mourner has to observe punctiliously a number of rules and restrictions while making these offerings: he has to have a bath in cold water, wear ritually pure robes, and observe a fast. He starts cooking his food only after he has made the ritual offerings for the day. Many kinds of food are prohibited to him during mourning, and he may have only one proper meal every day.

Conditions like a bath, the wearing of ritually pure robes, and the observance of a total fast till the completion of the ritual are also observed while performing good-sacred ritual. A person takes a bath and wears ritually pure robes before worshipping a deity. He breaks his fast only after the worship is over. While *polé* and *maḍi* are normally mutually opposed, the mourner who is in a condition of *tīké* fulfils the same preliminary ritual rules as the devotee about to pray. The mourner when offering food to the spirit of the dead person is inhabiting a world which is very far removed from that of the devotee about to pray. The former is living in a world of ritual impurity, whereas the latter is living in the world of ritual purity. But within the world of ritual impurity the mourner attains a form of ritual purity prior to performing the most important rites: in other words he attains *maḍi* in *polé*.

The concepts of normal ritual status, pollution, and purity apply not only to Coorgs but to all castes, including Untouchables. An Untouchable, like any high-caste man, is normally *mailigé*, and only occasionally and for comparatively short periods is he *maḍi* or *polé*. It should not be assumed that an Untouchable is in a permanent and unalterable condition of ritual impurity. While contact with an Untouchable always pollutes a high-caste man, an Untouchable, considered by himself, is as subject to the various ritual states as anyone else.

VI

A few words are necessary here on the length of the period of mourning. For everyone except the dead person's spouse and eldest son, ritual mourning ends on the day the *māda* ceremony is performed. Nowadays, *māda* is *usually* performed on the twelfth day. But sometimes, in the case of a big headman or official, it is performed on the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day. The length of the mourning period is thus an index of the social importance

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765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dīkshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dīkshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
[593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*tiké manè*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

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salute them. They may not go to a wedding or dance. In general senior relatives are not supposed to observe any food restrictions or wear a special mourning dress, but when they are members of the same house as the dead person they observe the food taboos, refrain from shaving, and wear only white. They have been classed as mourners of the third grade.

The widow or widower is the most important mourner among Coorgs, even more important than the eldest son of the dead person. The conjugal tie receives the maximum amount of emphasis: the surviving spouse has to be a mourner of the first grade except when prevented by serious illness. The eldest son, too, is usually a mourner of the first grade, though he does not seem to be as essential as the surviving spouse. It is interesting to note that a daughter may sometimes be called upon to be a mourner of the first grade.

The widower is usually senior to his dead wife except in the case of a leviratic marriage when he might be her junior. With the exception of the surviving spouse, all 'active mourners' are invariably the dead person's juniors. They are either mourners of the second or first grade. The Koḍagi term for mourning of the second grade is *mēngaté*, which means 'standing apart', or 'not mixing', and for mourning of the first grade, *kuḷik nippad*, or 'standing for bathing'.

All juniors to the dead person in the *okka* of which the dead person was a member have to observe mourning of the third grade at least. Certain relatives, such as a married woman's younger brother and a man's married sister, are also required to observe mourning of the third grade even though they do not belong to the same *okka* as the dead person.

Formerly, a male and female member from the servant Poleya[1] family observed mourning of the third grade for a dead member of their master's household. They observed all the food and dress restrictions which third-grade mourners observed, but they did not perform the rites which the Coorg mourners perform. The headman of the master *okka* gave the Poleya mourners mourning-dress to wear, and at the conclusion of mourning gave them provisions for a dinner, and a *sari* for the woman mourner, and cloth for a gown for the man mourner. Nowadays members of the servant family do not observe ritual mourning: the tie is not strong enough to express itself in ritual.

[1] The Poleya mourners had to be juniors to the dead person.

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783 Mourners of the third grade have to abstain from meat, fish, mushrooms, liquor, honey, milk, and betel leaves and areca-nut. The men are required to have their heads and faces shaved completely. They may not wear any jewellery, nor tie the red sash round their waists. They have to avoid wearing coloured garments, especially garments coloured red.

Women mourners of the third grade are required to remove their jewellery, except such as is symbolical of the married state. The widow of the dead man has to remove even that. Women mourners dress themselves in a white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. The upper ends of the former are tied in a knot at the chest.

It has been mentioned earlier that all men mourners indicate the beginning of mourning by having the head and face shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse. They may not have another shave till the *māda* day, when ritual mourning ends for all except the first-grade mourners.

Nowadays *māda* is performed usually on the twelfth day of death, and on this day, after the afternoon meal has been eaten by all the mourners, three men mourners have their faces shaved by the barber. This shave is one of the ritual acts marking the end of mourning and the resumption of normal social life by all except the first-grade mourners.

The men who are observing first-grade mourning have to wear either a white gown or a shoulder-cloth (*tuṃḍu*) and waist-cloth (*muṃḍu*). A mourner does not usually wear a gown nowadays, but if he wears one, he may not pass his right arm through the right arm of the gown.

Until the *māda* day, first-grade mourners take a cold-water bath every morning, after which they perform the rites prescribed for the day. They then start cooking their meal, which is done in the cattle-shed, or any other sheltered spot outside the main building. They may not have more than one meal per day, and they have to pay scrupulous attention to the various food restrictions. They are, however, allowed to eat a few fruits at night.

The surviving spouse has to observe more restrictions than other first-grade mourners. He (or she) may not sleep on a cot, or sit on a plank. He may not eat from a dining-dish (*taḷi*), but has to use a leaf instead. He may not ford a river. A silver chain is wound round his left wrist, and in his left hand he holds a knife.

The *māda* ceremony frees all mourners from ritual mourning,

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but not, however, the first-grade mourners, who are only freed at the *dikshé uttuva* ceremony, which is performed long after the *mādā*. Until then, honey and milk may not be consumed, ornaments and coloured cloths may not be worn. A woman mourner has to wear the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. A man mourner may not have his face or head shaved.

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VIII

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The offer of food to the spirit of the departed person is a dominant motif in Coorg funeral ritual. When the corpse is still seated in the paved yard of the house, one of the mourners carries some cooked rice on a plantain leaf and places it at the bottom of the lane leading to the house. He also places on the plantain leaf a lighted cotton wick on a piece of coconut: this serves as a lamp. As he does this, double shots are fired from a gun. He salutes the leaf as he would a corpse, and other mourners follow him in saluting the food-offering and lamp.

The family friend places a food-bundle on the grave directly above the spot where the corpse's head rests. In case of cremation, the bundle is placed at the spot where the head lay before cremation.

On the second, third, and fourth days, the first-grade mourners offer raw, uncooked rice to fish in a pond or lake, and this is called 'water sacrifice' (*nīr beli*). On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, 'shore sacrifice' (*karé beli*) is performed: the first-grade mourners go to the pond or lake, and each of them cooks a little rice on an improvised stove on the edge of the pond or lake. No vessel may be used for cooking this rice. A flat bit of a broken pot is used instead. This rice is then removed on to a plantain leaf which is kept on a purified spot near the stove.

On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days food is offered to crows. A sacrificial post (*beli mara*) of wood is erected in the yard before the mourning-house. A plank is fixed horizontally to the top of the post. The dead person's spouse cooks rice and prepares vegetable curry, and these are mixed and placed on a plantain leaf. The leaf is then kept on the plank on top of the post. As he (or she) keeps this, he claps his hands and shouts '*kā, kā*' (in imitation of the cawing of crows).

On the eleventh (*pannand*) day, each of the second-grade

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mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

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on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of concern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*namme*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual.

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage.

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'.

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

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765 are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the 788 guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.

783 The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhaganḍēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamanḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

[171] The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

776 It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
778 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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796 621 Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805] The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannada and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[783] [2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

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796 before decapitating the animals. As soon as a few drops of blood
782 drip from his finger, he sacrifices the 'village fowls'. Then he decapitates the 'village goat' before the shrine. The decapitation of the other animals takes place only after the decapitation of the 'village fowls' and 'village goat'. The Paṇika receives as his perquisite the heads of the 'village goat' and of all the fowls.

After all the animals have been cut, the assembled villagers turn their backs on the scene of carnage and remain silent for a few minutes. This is to enable the deity to consume the essence of the sacrificed animals in peace. They then turn round and sing the *ānanda pāṭ* (the song of joy), after which the villagers depart for their homes with the headless carcasses. The headless 'village goat' is tied to a high branch of the *dēva kaṇigalé* (oleander) tree near the temple. It remains suspended there till noon of the twelfth day, when it is taken down and cooked for the communal dinner. It is said that vultures and kites do not touch the carcass of the 'village goat', nor does the flesh go bad as it normally would in the heat of summer. This is attributed to the power of Bhadrakāḷi.

VI

796 On the eleventh morning a representative of the Karṇaṇḍra
[783] *okka* cleans the temple yard of bloodstains and he is paid three *paṇas* (about nine annas) for performing this duty. The Brahmin priest then ritually purifies the temple and temple yard by sprinkling consecrated water everywhere and uttering the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*.

Races are held on the eleventh afternoon for 'prostitutes' (*chūḷé*) and for 'horses' (*kuduré*). The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇaṇḍra, and Nandiyaṇḍa *okkas* are each required to send one 'prostitute' and one 'horse' for the races. 'Prostitutes' and 'horses' are regarded as votive offerings. For instance, when a boy is ill, his parents might [782] make a vow to the effect that they will dress him up as a 'prostitute' at the coming festival.

Getting the 'prostitute' and 'horse' ready in time is not very easy, and clear, if elaborate, rules are laid down requiring certain *okkas* to help each of the three *okkas* charged with the responsibility of making the offerings. For instance, the Tātaṇḍra *okka* is required to help the Māḷeṭṭira *okka*, the Kuṭṭaṇḍra *okka* (now split into two) to help the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and the Māḷeṭṭira *okka* to help

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of *puṇya*.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*triveṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar

[174 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have 846 experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement.

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is employed, but infanticide is not practised.

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each
[431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral
● [783] lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already, mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her
[765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves
[589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

113 **Bibliography**

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professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

66

COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same gotra This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

764
[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva [624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asóge-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid sponse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure alarming. According to
[197] [823] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the caldron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt. and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
197 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 battles of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
788 798 197 539 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[Errata: the words "and Pressure" should be omitted. see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
632 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
312 head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudáya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol, which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[162] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[563] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
Kurnbas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[55] tion of the large and influential house of the late Devan
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 919 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

They seem
795 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
174 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
793 foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually
[179] instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwúnád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talc-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of
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[648]
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